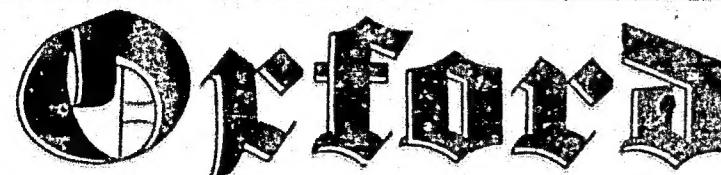


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# Oxford Democrat.

VOLUME 3.

PARIS, MAINE, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1835.

NUMBER 3

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ADDRESS.  
TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS  
OF THE UNITED STATES.  
[CONCLUDED.]

The next objection against the Convention, and one recently urged by the opposition, is that the whole proceeding is purely of a party character; intended alone to preserve the power of party and perpetuate party principles. Hence it is, that we hear the spirit of party so strongly deprecated by the very men who are invoking its aid, for their own ambitious and party purposes. That this spirit, when carried to an extreme, may become injurious, we readily admit. But the man who expects to see free countries exempt, from its influence, must be a very superficial observer of human affairs, and have but slight acquaintance with the history of free governments. In a country like ours, it is not only the right but the duty of every citizen to make himself acquainted with the operations of the Government and the conduct of those entrusted with its administration. Every citizen here can aspire to the highest offices in the States; the only passports to which are the favor and confidence of his fellow men acquired by the possession of talents and virtue. In such a state of society, that there should be collisions of sentiment and interests, and political parties, is not only a consequence natural, but irresistible.—Nor is the existence of such parties desirous of public utility. They bring into action the greatest talents. They excite a jealousy and vigilance which insures fidelity in the public functionaries. They check attempts at usurpation of power, and thereby preserve the rights of the people. Such has been the effect, not only in our own free government, but in those much less so. In Great Britain has this not especially been the case? There the great and overweening power of the monarchical and aristocratical branches of the government has been counteracted and kept in check by the boldness, talents and popularity of the leaders of political party; nor is there any thing immoral or improper in men having the same object, co-operating as a party on honest principles, for its attainment. An individual in the political world taking his own course without consulting those of the same principles and opinions with himself, would become insignificant.—His isolated exertions might become unavailing.—He would be a unit, opposed to a strong phalanx, united by a common interest, and animated by a combined will. The only way that could oppose with success the movements of his political opponents, would be to unite with those having the same views with himself. Nor would this imply a sacrifice of principle or independence on his part. A breach of political morality, the doing an act of injustice; or the trampling on the rights or liberties of a fellow citizen, can never be justified or excused, by regard or complaisance to a party. This is readily admitted. But the concession of subordinate questions; a compromise of views of policy; or the course to be pursued to attain a certain and laudable object; of the preference of particular individuals to fill certain stations, are not only the dictates of wisdom, but are to be justified by the maxims of the severest and most inflexible morality. Men excited to preserve and maintain the liberties of the country; to oppose any attempt to sacrifice those liberties, and to bury them under the ruins of the Constitution, would not only be inexcusable, but highly criminal, to suffer those great and vital objects to be deflected; because, in the pride of opinion, they would not sacrifice, on question of mere expediency, a cause which they might not have been the first themselves to suggest. The question which these political casuists ought to put to themselves, should be this: Would it be better that they should endanger the public happiness or the public liberty, than give up some favorite scheme of policy, or yield their assent to an individual's being placed in an office, whose opinions in general coincided with his own, though they might have a preference for another? When parties act on honorable principles, there is no danger from its existence or influence.

But this opinion is not meant to extend to the justification of that factious and envenomed spirit by which parties are sometimes influenced. Whenever an individual is ready to sacrifice the honor of the nation, the principles of the Constitution, or the rights of the People, to gratify his own ambition, or satiate his vengeance on political opponents, such a man deserves to be stigmatized as an enemy to his country.—The great thing to be attended to in a free country, therefore, is not to pronounce an indiscriminate anathema against all political parties. The People should inquire into the motives by which parties are actuated, and into the tendency of their measures. If a particular

party or set of individuals are united to preserve the public liberty, and to secure the Constitution on a firm basis, these men, by whatever epithets distinguished, deserve the public applause and gratitude. If the tendency of the measures of another be to overturn that Constitution, or subvert the liberties of the People, such men, however imposing the name which they may have assumed, do not merit the public support, but should be firmly resisted by every friend of his country. It would be the duty of the good citizen to unite his efforts to those of one party, while he should avoid any connexion with the other. In a society constituted of such parties, and in a country like ours, who would be inclined in standing aloof as an unconcerned spectator? Would he not be bound to choose between parties and measures, which might be beneficial or injurious to his country? Under the banners of the first described of those parties, would he not be compelled, by the strongest impulses of duty and patriotism, to enlist. Would he not be in a situation, where, next to the crime of uniting on measures hostile to the public happiness, would be that of remaining neutral. Miserable indeed would be the excuse of those who refrain from affording that aid which they owe to their country, under the pretext that they cannot agree upon any measure of policy, and upon any preference of individuals, with those whose main objects they admit to be similar to their own. Should these political opponents be successful, persons acting with such views would find it difficult either to justify their conduct to their country or their own consciences. They might discover too late that they had sacrificed the best of causes to that pride of opinion which is not satisfied with success, but with nothing short of attaining it in its own way. These reflections ought, to be seriously weighed by every citizen in a free country. They are not only important to those who are struggling for power, which they mean to wield to promote the public happiness, but to those whom the People having placed in authority, have to contend with an opposition, whose deadly hostility would delight to overthrow them and their principles altogether. Union is even more important to a party who are in power, because on it depends the efficiency of an administration, and the success of the best concerted plans of policy. An opposition does not require so strong a cement to obtain success amongst them; by whatever dissimilarity of motive each individual is actuated, yet if each finds fault with something, a unity of effect is produced—not so with those who administer the Government. If they do not unite and harmonize, not only in its general views, but also in the particular measures which are adopted, their movements will be marked by irresolution and imbecility. They will be incapable of resisting the efforts of their opponents, weakened as they will be by the luke-warmness and indifference of their friends. Such must always be the effect of a sort of mutual concession and union on the part of those who profess the same political principles and think alike. When parties act on honorable principles, there is no danger in our country from their existence and influence. Who, then, ought to be ashamed of the appellation of party, when properly conducted, and especially, such a party as that which binds together the Democratic Republicans of our Union, it would indeed seem as if the days had come, foretold of old, when the lion, and the lamb shall lie down in peace together.

Those, then, who would urge the Government of our Union to trespass upon the rights of the States, or those who would force the States to dissolve the Union, are neither Republican nor the true friends of the States or the Union. They are not so, because they strike at the foundation and existence of our free institutions and Republican Government itself.

They strike on different sides, to be sure, and with very different motives, but the effects are the same. It matters but little whether the harmony of those happy and prosperous States be destroyed by wrongs committed against their reserved rights, or whether it be by creating just dissatisfaction to that Union to which they are all indebted, without exception, for their peace and prosperity at home and their respect abroad. Fellow citizens, there have always been two great political parties in our country. Names have changed, but the principle or grounds of difference between the two remain the same.—The Republican party have always contended for a strict construction of the Constitution, the preservation of the rights of the States, and the integrity and supremacy of the Government of the Union, when acting strictly within the letter and spirit of the constitutional compact.

The federal party, or consolidationists, on the other hand, claimed a literal or latitude construction, and under the pretext of "general welfare" and "expediency," have not scrupled to exercise powers not only of doubtful constitutional character, but in violation of many of the reserved rights of the States. Their principles have often led them not only to push the authority of the General Government to the most unwarrantable lengths, disregarding State rights and public sentiment, (as in the case of the Alien and Sedition Laws,) but to fly to the opposite extreme, and stoutly deny the authority of the General Government, when acting strictly within the line of its constitutional duty, as in the case of the Embargo proceedings during

the late war, and the recent Bank question.—The very same class of politicians, who had advocated the authority of the Federal Government to enact Alien and Sedition Laws, established monied monopolies, created exorbitant Tariffs, and taxed the people of one section of the country to make roads and canals in another, denied the right of the same Government to protect the commerce of its citizens by an Embargo, defend the rights and liberties of its gallant seamen by a war, or remove even the public treasure from a soulless corporation, using its power for political and party purposes. All such extremes are alike inconsistent with the principles and doctrines of the Republican party. The consolidationists have twice had the Government in their hands, and both times their principles have been pushed to dangerous extremes. Names have changed, but the same party with the same principles, leading to the same practices, are now striving for power.—It is true and gratifying to believe, that a portion of this party are aiming at power, and in the conviction that their principles, (although twice tried and failed) would be more conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the country, than the principles of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. They, however, know that they are in a minority, and can never hope to gain the ascendancy except by dividing the Republican party. To this point all their energies are and will be directed. It cannot be concealed from you that many of our opponents both in the North and the South, under different names and denominations, are playing into each other's hands by creating geographical parties, kindling sectional animosities, stirring up local jealousies, and arousing all the angry passions. It is in this way that they hope to divide the Republican party. Facts, however, will verify that all such proceedings are instituted by anti-republicans, and those who are opposed to us. This is more especially true, as it regards the Eastern and Northern portions of our country. The Republicans have no lot or part in them, and all those who assume the name and are now found engaged in them, if they ever belonged to the Democratic party, have since been alienated by ambitious or party views, or in the midst of party strife have in stake enemies for friends. True Republicans can never lend their aid and influence in creating geographical parties in the East, West, North or South.

They can never engage in such schemes

without violating their principles; principles which tell them that they are all brothers, each left a

rich inheritance by their fathers, never to be cancelled, while they forbear to meddle with the local feelings and domestic relations of each other. Who then can doubt the virtue, the intelligence, and the patriotism of our brethren of the northern and middle States upon this subject? Have not the abolitionists and fanatics, in broaching their obnoxious plans in public in those quarters of the Union, been in danger even of mobs and violence? Within the last two years while political incendiaries, with the view of creating sectional parties, have been proclaiming to the South that the North were preparing to interfere with her domestic relations; have we not seen the preachers of such doctrines driven from the public assemblies in the North and North-west with mockery and scorn? It was but the other day that the abolitionists were refused permission by an overwhelming vote of the Democratic Legislature of New Hampshire, to hold meetings in either Legislative Hall, on the ground that the objects of the Society were incompatible with those Southern interests secured by the Constitution, with which the American people have nothing to do, and which could never be agitated without danger and alarm. It is the power and influence of United Republicanism and patriotism, which tie the hands of the abolitionists and fanatics in the North, and storms their doctries. It is this power of united Republicanism which spell binds their deluded followers, and which they feel and dread. Indeed, so safe and sure a guarantee is Republicanism, for the peaceable possession of all the privileges resulting from this confederacy of States, that while there is a Republican in the North, the South will have a friend there. Let then the Republican party every where, stand firm and united, and trusting to their principles fear not, all will be safe. And why shall not the democracy of all quarters of our Union, and the several States, implicitly confide in each other. They entered into this Confederacy as independent States, with the express stipulation, that each State reserved to itself the right of managing its domestic concerns, and social relations in its own way. The people of no State, therefore, can violate that compact, on which this Union is based, and call themselves Republicans. It would be subversive of the fundamental principles on which the superstructure of Republicanism itself is based. They could not, as men of honor and of truth, violate it, without being guilty of deception, treachery, and falsehood. They could not as men of sense and true Christians, violate it, because they know, that by so doing, the light of a great nation now brightly shining on a benighted world, would be extinguished forever, and in blood. They know that the world affords ample felicity for the exercise of the most boundless exertions of humanity, char-

ity, and piety. They know that whatever may be the evils existing in any portion of the United States, and however they may be deplored by many in the North and North-west, that there are greater evils in other countries, where humanity, religion, and letters may exert their empire over the human heart. Whenever religion leaves its proper home, the heart, to join in the noise and strife of the affairs of State, it is out of its province, and ever sullies its purity. Whatever movements may be made then in the North or the South, the East or the West, inconsistent with the domestic or social rights secured by the Constitution to respective States of the Confederacy, will emanate from, and be confined to anti-Republicans, and like all other evils, will be most effectually counteracted by the union, integrity, and resistance of the Republican party.

Under such circumstances, how wicked as well as unfounded, are these attempts to excite and inflame the South, and create sectional parties on such a basis.—Who can look to such a state of things without dismay and horror?—Was it not fellow citizens, against the danger of indulging such feelings, and on the importance of discouraging them, and preserving harmony and union that our revolutionary fathers endeavored so deeply to impress their country? Will you pardon us while we ask you to read and listen to their eloquent and pathetic exhortation?

"But this detestable effort to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, and enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts can never succeed. The people of America have to much good sense, to enter into the perilous and gloomy scenes, into which these advocates of disunion would lead them. They will not hearken to the unnatural voice which tells them, that knit together as they are, by so many cords of affection, they no longer live together, as members of the same great family; can no longer be natural guardians of their mutual happiness; can no longer be fellow citizens of one great and flourishing empire.—They will shut their ears against such unhallowed language. They will shut their hearts against the poison it contains. The kindred blood which flows in their veins; and the mingled blood which they have shed in the defense of their sacred rights, consecrated their union and excite horror at the idea of their becoming aliens, rivals, enemies."

This was the admonition of a man of the soundest and most experienced head, and the purest and most patriotic heart. Need we say it was that of James Madison, one of the most distinguished founders of the Constitution.—Hence too the solemn warning of Washington, the great Virginian and Saviour of his country, against the dangers of geographical discriminations, and these insidious and daring attempts at disunion and disaffection. In his valedictory and affectionate admonition, at the moment he was retired forever from public life, he too, warned his countrymen.

"Union which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you—it is justly so—it is the main pillar in the edifice of real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; of your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; and of that very liberty which you so dearly prize. That it is the point of our political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) be directed. Frown therefore, indignantly, brown," he continues, "upon the first dawning of any attempts to alienate one portion of our country from the rest; or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts."

Who can turn a deaf ear to such counsel, and at a time so appropriate as this? Who does not feel and acknowledge the importance of this hallowed spirit speaking, as it were from the tomb, the prophetic and inspired language of truth and patriotism. Why then these attempts to alarm the Southern portion of our country and to assail the proceedings of the Convention on the score of geographical and sectional feeling? Why all this illiberality? Why this continued effort to excite unfriendly feelings between people who have always entertained such sincere respect for each other?—Why shall we not regard (in national matters) all the States as one country; and the People which inhabit them as our brethren? Why shall any narrow and sordid, and selfish spirit lead the people of one section to view with envy, or jealousy, the prosperity and happiness of another? Why shall not the South rejoice in the prosperity of their Eastern brethren, in the greatness of Pennsylvania and New York, and in the increasing power and population of these young and flourishing States, upon the waters of the mighty West; and why shall not these, in return, reciprocate the same kind feelings towards the patriotic South? When did the North or the West, ever desert the South?—How long and nobly have they not stood by the South, and her distinguished men? Was it not in support of Southern men that the Democracy of the North so often evinced a high degree of liberality? Was General Washington, or Mr. Jefferson, or Mr. Madison, or Mr. Monroe, ever objected to by them, because they were from the south? At the end of General

Jackson's present term, the South will have and for the support of armies, placemen and of the world. Has it not placed our country in which this duty had been performed, the the suspension of the channels of their foreign years out of forty-eight, since the adoption of the Convention. As to the remaining eight years, at dissatisfaction and disunion? Why these attempts of our political existence under the Constitution, that high office has been in the hands of the people of the Southern and Eastern States? Why are these questions, Democracy never yet seen a man elevated which have slumbered for half a century, now from their own ranks to that high station. Under these circumstances have they ever murmured, or complained? Never. And why? Because, in the spirit of true patriotism, they have believed that the interests of their country would be better promoted, and their cherished principles best maintained, by their support of Southern men.

And now, after so many years of disinterested conduct, would it not be illiberal and unjust, when they present one of themselves for that high station, whose character and principles are every way unexceptionable, that they should be branded as enemies of the South, and hostile to the peculiar institutions of the Southern people. We are assured that such imputations, so groundless, and so wicked, can make no impression on the southern republicans. They will not be induced by such means to refuse support to a Republican from the North—a man not selected as the democratic candidate because he was a Northern man, but because he was an honest, enlightened, and trustworthy American citizen—a Republican in principle and practice—and because these were the qualities which elected Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. They happened, it is true, to be Southern men, but it was not because they were so that the destinies of this country were confined to their hands. Virginia, that has been honored with the Presidency for more than thirty years, will not be so unreasonable as to deny to the Northern Democracy, who secured to her the possession of that high honor, a boon of equal value. Such a spirit of selfishness and ingratuity does not enter into her proud bosom nor can it be found any where among the chivalry of the South. It dwells only in the hearts of the narrow minded and fainthearted, who have in view the gratification of their own ambition or hubor designs of more serious portent, to our beloved country. Under a just administration of the General Government, in all its departments, there is no conflict of interest between the different sections of our country, which can or ought to render their present union incompatible with their local freedom and prosperity. On the contrary the interests embraced under the mantle of our Constitution, are common and prevailing. All parts of the Union are interested in an equal and beneficial operation of the Federal Government. It is the interest of all to have peace, internal and external. It is the interest of all to preserve the freedom of intercourse and commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States.

All have an interest in the management of the public revenue; in a common currency; in the inviolability of contracts; and in the establishment of mails. No power is delegated to the General Government, in the just exercise of which, the various States of the confederacy have not a common, if not an equal interest; nor is there one which can be materially abused without injury to all. Even obstructions to trade, and the erection of monopolies are as injurious to the People of the North as of the South, and may even be overthrown by the diffusion of correct information among the People instead of building up sectional parties, estranging the People of one section from the People of another, and constantly talking of resort to revolution, and violence, to remedy real or imaginary evils; instead of this war against our homes and our hearths, the good man and the patriot will rather strive to diffuse through all sections, just views of our institutions, and national policy, and relief will certainly follow from the operations of the public mind, as certainly as an effect is produced by an adequate cause. Hence it was that Mr. Jefferson, (in his letter to the Ohio Legislature,) justly and forcibly remarks—"Nothing can so effectually contribute to produce the greatest guard to the country, as harmony, and mutual confidence between the General and State authorities, and a conviction that local and general interests well conducted can never be in opposition." Mr. Madison, too, in a communication to the Connecticut Legislature, remarks—"The prosperity even of those States (the Eastern) is founded on so clear a reciprocity of interests, and the most important constitutional relations between the General and State authorities; that it may always be expected that revolutionary errors on these subjects will quickly yield to reflection, and voluntary ones being confined to a few, will not long resist the general impulse." That collisions and difficulties under so complicated a system of Government, would sometimes arise; was foreseen and expected; but they can always be conquered by forbearance, moderation and wisdom.

There is perfection, fellow citizens, in nothing which surrounds or protects us. The laws of nature are not adequate to our protection from multiplied inconveniences and aggravated calamities. But should we therefore seek to escape from their authority? Would it be prudent, if we had the power, to seek in the total disorganization of this present natural system, relief from the pains inconveniences, and dangers which we suffer in its operation?—There is equally folly in seeking destruction of the social institutions, which practically secure to us a degree of liberty, peace, happiness, and prosperity, unequalled in any other country, because they are sometimes abused. If our people are wise, they will shut their ears to such mischievous counsels, which are given by men who, in their mad schemes of ambition and power, would reduce their countrymen to the condition of serfs, who labor only for their lords,

abroad upon the most elevated and exalted ground, and caused its name to be respected in every quarter of the globe. So, too, in relation to the internal concerns. Has it not pursued a course equally distinguished by wisdom and moderation, and with like results. Has it not secured to all parts of our country internal prosperity, peace and security. Has not the public debt been extinguished. Have not the great interests of the soil been exempted from unjust systems of taxation, in the shape of Tariffs, and the industry of the whole nation protected and cherished? Indulging no favor or fear, manifesting no preference towards any particular section of our country over another, cherishing no interest separate from the welfare of the whole, nor has the Government been administered with a single eye to the benefit and prosperity of all? Has not one of the greatest object of his civil Magistracy been the protection of the rights of the States, and the integrity of the Union. Has he not made the Constitution his guide, and brought back the Government to its true fundamental principles? Has he exercised any power not granted? Claimed any of doubtful character? Has he not carried out the great principles which he laid down in the first Messages, and fulfilled his promises to the letter. Has he not in fact been true to his high trust, and faithful to his country. But, fellow citizens, notwithstanding these wise measures of the Administration, General Jackson, like his great prototype, Mr. Jefferson, was doomed to encounter all the evils and embarrassments of war upon the President and his friends, and then commenced those scenes of panic and distress without any parallel in the history of our country, and which threatened one time its peace and security. But to whom were they justly attributed? To whom, but the opposition, and their great ally, the Bank. Was not the object of these efforts and exertions, on the part of the Bank to disturb and paralyze the ordinary avocation of our citizens, and to take from them the means of carrying them on? Did they not endeavor to arrest the whole course of business almost every department of society, and to produce that individual ruin and distress which they had predicted would be the consequence of the measures of the President and his administration. Who is there now that doubts it? Did not these efforts not only embarrass but expose the Government and country to the most eminent perils? Was not the final issue even considered doubtful, and did not the friends of liberty and free government tremble for the result? From a state of things so pregnant with great evils, and forebodings still greater, was not the firmness and virtue of the President, and those associated with him, that saved us? And how, fellow citizens, was this war against the Chief Magistrate of your country and his administration conducted? In what way did they not assail him? What charges were not made against him? What offence was not imputed to him?

It was accordingly towards the termination of General Jackson's first term, when they had sunk into a desperate condition, that a new ray of hope burst upon them. Then it was the Bank of the United States was looked on as the means by which to accomplish their ends, and secure their triumph. It was their last hope, and they instantly embraced it. Although the charter of the Bank was not to expire for four years, their policy was to get an application made for its renewal before the period for the re-election of General Jackson should arrive. By this means the re-election of the President was to be defeated, and their triumph secured. They regarded him as in a delicate and dangerous dilemma. His numerous friends were divided upon the subject of the Bank, both on grounds of constitutionality and expediency—Pennsylvania and the West had declared in favor of the Bank, and the entire South against it. If the bill for its re-charter should pass both Houses of Congress, (and the majority for it was believed to be certain,) the President would necessarily be obliged either to approve or to veto it. If he approved, the Bank would succeed in its object of a re-charter, and his friends in the South—without whose support he was believed he could not be re-elected—would, upon principles, desert him. If he disapproved, and vetoed, all eyes would be turned to Pennsylvania and the West; and his friends deserting him there, also, his re-election would be jeopardized if not defeated. This was the master-stroke of policy, and it was consequently adopted. They did not calculate, however, upon the application of the veto power.

Although they knew the previous convictions of General Jackson as to the inexpediency and unconstitutionality of the Bank and its dangerous tendency—although he had expressed his opinions to Congress in the years '29, '30, and '31, and his determination never to sanction it, yet they did not believe he would refuse to sign any bill that might finally pass for its re-charter, and by so doing his re-election. Accordingly, the Bank came forward in 1831, with an application for a re-charter. A bill for this purpose passed both houses, and received the constitutional veto of the president. Thus these were the objects which influenced the opposition at that day, none, we think, acquainted with the history of those times, can doubt. Indeed, they were charged at the time, and universally believed. But, how little did they know of the individual with whom they were contending.—He met the crisis in a manner worthy of his principles, and vetoed the bill both as unconstitutional and expedient—thus cutting off all hope as to its ever meeting his approbation.

It was then that the Bank took the field openly, and under the banners of a concentrated and powerful opposition, made every effort to defeat the re-election of General Jackson, but without success. The manly and fearless man-

Robust firmness and honesty of the President, connections. Where the loss of their trade, the so far from prejudicing him with the great body of manufacturers? Where the of the Democracy of Pennsylvania and the deluge of debt the ruin and division of our West, served only to endear him to them. It people. Where the fields without harvest; the was regarded by them and the great majority of the merchants without customers? Where his friends, as one of the most important and now are all these false prophets with all their glorious acts of his administration, and he was dreams of ruin and distress? Have they been re-elected by an overwhelming majority. Of fulfilled?

Is it true that we have no free Government

we shall, forbear here to speak. They have country humbled in the eyes of the world? Is our long since been exposed to the nation, and must be familiar to all. But the contest did not stop here. There remained still another and severe struggle, which the President and his administration were doomed to encounter in consequence of the course of which he felt it his duty to pursue in relation to this institution.—Having considered the fate of the Bank as settled by the decision of the People, in his election, and that its charter would expire within four years, and seeing in its conduct good reason, as he believed, to justify the measure, the President deemed it his duty, as the head of the Executive Department of the Government, to saction the removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, and their being placed elsewhere for safe keeping, by the Secretary of the Treasury, whose duty it was to make such removal whenever in his opinion the public interest required it to be done.

Then was revived the bitter and vindictive war upon the President and his friends, and then commenced those scenes of panic and distress without any parallel in the history of our country, and which threatened one time its peace and security. But to whom were they justly attributed? To whom, but the opposition, and their great ally, the Bank. Was not the object of these efforts and exertions, on the part of the Bank to disturb and paralyze the ordinary avocation of our citizens, and to take from them the means of carrying them on? Did they not endeavor to arrest the whole course of business almost every department of society, and to produce that individual ruin and distress which they had predicted would be the consequence of the measures of the President and his administration.—Who is there now that doubts it? Did not these efforts not only embarrass but expose the Government and country to the most eminent perils? Was not the final issue even considered doubtful, and did not the friends of liberty and free government tremble for the result? From a state of things so pregnant with great evils, and forebodings still greater, was not the firmness and virtue of the President, and those associated with him, that saved us? And how, fellow citizens, was this war against the Chief Magistrate of your country and his administration conducted? In what way did they not assail him? What charges were not made against him? What offence was not imputed to him?

He was charged with a violation of the Constitution of his country, and a breach of almost all its laws. With having, in violation of these, assumed the purse as well as the sword. With the destruction of the public and private credit. With bringing upon the nation a ruined currency, and a load of public debt. With the loss of the agricultural products and individual industry of the people. With the decline of our commerce and manufactures, and the destruction of our trade. With having, in fact, disabled, dishonored and oppressed his country. Indeed, not only were the measures of the administration declared to be odious and corrupt, but it was said that a species of tyranny had sprung up which was desolating the land, and threatening even the liberties of the people. The President was denounced in terms as another Ti-berius or Caligula, ready to sacrifice his country at the shrine of his unholv ambition. Was not this the gloomy picture which our opponents gave of the venerable Magistrate and his administration? Was he not, moreover, charged with having done this to gratify a vindictive and ruthless spirit against a moneyed institution, and in pursuit of a wild & frantic ambition, that knew no limits? Let the candid and the liberal of all parties answer. And for what was this load of reproach heaped upon him and his friends? For what but the firmness, independence, and vigor with which they had resisted every attempt to recharter an institution against which the republicans had warred from the moment of its existence, and which Mr. Jefferson, in the evening of his life, declared to be "one of the most deadly hostilities existing to the principles and form of our Constitution—and which, penetrating by its branches every part of our Union, and acting by command and in phalanx, might, in a critical moment, upset the Government."

Who doubts but that it was because of his uncompromising hostility to his corporation, at a moment when it was waving its dreadful sceptre over the land, and his unshaken constancy in support of the People's cause, that this venerable and noble patriot, and those associated with him, were arraigned and denounced, before their country and the world, in a manner unparalleled in the history of any free Government. Yes, fellow citizens, it was for these things that an administration, which had secured to its country liberty, and union, and prosperity at home, and respect and peace abroad, was denounced as the most abandoned and profligate upon the earth. Posterity will look back with astonishment, and if possible, upon the scenes which for the last three years disgraced our country, and wonder how any man could have successfully resisted the gigantic power of such an institution, wielded under such circumstances. But, what has become of this mass of mischief and ruin, which was to proceed from the conduct of the President towards the Bank? Where is that universal bankruptcy which was to overwhelm the people? Where

will never consent to abandon? Does not the Bank itself as undecided, although not openly in "battle array, with banners up?" Are not the sappers at work throughout the land?—Why else, to propose extending its loans?—Can we forget that its managers justified their curtailments two years ago, on the ground that their charter had but a short time to run, and prudence required them to draw in by degrees, their outstanding debts? Hence in their application to Congress in 1831, they say, "unless the question is decided by the present Congress, no definitive action upon it can be expected until within two years of the expiration of the Charter a period before which, in the opinion of your memorialists, it is highly expedient, not merely in reference to the institution itself, but to the more important interests of the nation, that the determination of Congress should be known." Again, they say—"If the wisdom of Congress shall determine that the Bank must cease to exist, it is still more important that the country should begin early to prepare for the expected change, and that the institution should have as much time as possible to execute the

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duty, always a very delicate and difficult one, of adding the community to seek new channels of business, and by gradual and gentle movements, to press with the least inconvenience on the great interests connected with it." If in 1831 they justified their curtailments on the ground that the charter had but four years to run, how is it that with less than half the time, they are extending their accommodations? Why do those who then justified the curtailment, now justify loans? Why but that both were intended for recharter? Farther attempts will be made to prolong its existence, if the People fail in the election of a Republican President.—Will not the subject of the tariff in a few years and that of internal improvement be again revisited, if our opponents should succeed? Do you not again expect to have your views misrepresented; to hear the same wild denunciations;—to witness the same disingenuous means; the same stale conceits and misrepresentations resorted to seduce you from the support of the Democratic candidates, and by division prevent an election by the People. Is not the project meditated to divide the friends of the Republican candidates and conquer under false colors? Are they not making every attempt to produce a schism in our ranks?—And is such the time when the Democracy of the country should disintegrate? Is it not, on the contrary, the time and occasion for every one who would sustain the great principles that are in jeopardy to buckles on his armor and double his diligence and watchfulness? It is by political vigilance alone, that liberty and good government can ever be secured. Is not the alternative now presented either to abandon the principles and doctrines of the Republican party and the benefits of our present administration or by vigilance and manly firmness maintain them? Was there ever a time in the history of our country since its independence, when vigilance and union on the part of Republicans were more important than the present? Who does not see the mischiefs that may arise from division and discord among ourselves? Shall we exhibit these scenes of division and weakness for the benefit of our political enemies?—If you do not wish to see these things enacted, by hold of the opportunity of preventing it by union and concert. Perfection is vain sought after in the works of man. Every inconvenience cannot be avoided. A lesser evil should sometimes be submitted to in order to avoid one greater and more durable. If personal animosities or personal preferences exist, ought they not at such a moment to be sacrificed for the public good? Will not he who refuses to make such a sacrifice be justly regarded as a suspicious friend, if not a secret foe? As members of the same great party, ought not our efforts to be directed to the promotion of harmony and good feeling among ourselves? Let reason and not denunciation, enlightened zeal and not intolerance, be our weapons, at least with each other; and let our energies be employed to procure the election of individuals who will carry out the principles and maintain the policy of the present administration. In embunt, then, upon every Democrat, to be upon the look out—every man to his post; and let no man slumber, while the storm threatens, and the vessel is in danger. "Slavery is ever preceeded by sleep." The Republicans of America would be unworthy the high station of freedom, if at the call of patriotism, they did not fly to the post of danger, and offer, up, not only their faculties, but their funds, upon the altar of their common country. Will they remain quite and inactive amidst all these movements, and such a time? Will they, who have so often broken the ranks of their political enemies suffer them now to erect their proud standard in the field of victory? Never! Fellow citizens our enemies have set us a good example—they have taught us that in "Union there is strength." Why should we not profit by it? Why shall we, standing upon the broad and firm basis of our country, let our opponents, influenced by ambitious or selfish motives? Let us, then, disown contentions and jealousies between State and State, and consider ourselves upon this subject, as well as all others of national character, as citizens of one great and happy nation. Above all, let our councils be unmingled with personal preferences and local partialities. In this way, and this only, can we expect to conquer. These were the views with which the Democratic party called the convention; and it was to accomplish these desirable objects that that Convention presented to the country the names of MARTIN VAN BUREN of New York, and RICHARD M. JOHNSON of Kentucky, two of her distinguished and patriotic fellow citizens, for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States. We shall offer you no adulation of their characters, talents, or services.—They have both been long known to the country, and distinguished upon the theatre of public life; and they have, moreover, declared, in advance, their political principles, and the course which will govern them, should they be called by their country to preside over its destinies. It rests with that country to decide. To the good sense of the People we confidently submit the decision; satisfied that whenever they shall be called to choose the sentinels who are to guard her rights and liberties, they will choose with propriety. We only ask them to be united and vigilant.

And now may we not, in conclusion, without

giving offence, address ourselves to those Republicans in heart and sentiment, who have heretofore belonged to the Democratic party, and supported the measures of Gen. Jackson's administration, but who feel a personal preference for the principles and measures of political opponents. May we not to these address ourselves, and in the spirit of friendship for political friends and associates, earnestly and solemnly propound to them the questions—What is the cause you mean to pursue? What your great duty on this occasion? Will you calmly and patriotsically unite with the great body of your Democratic friends, or will you let your disappointed enthusiasm and personal friendships, or the artifices of designing and ambitious men, drive you into opposition to Administration which you approve, and to a party with which you have so long acted? Are you prepared, on this trying emergency, to recede from the Republican ranks, and throw yourselves into the arms of your political enemies? These are serious questions, which it is now important you should consider well and apprize. You must now take a bold and resolute stand in defense of your old principles and friends, or consent to abandon them forever. You have it now in your power to do great good or great mischief. You must now decide, (if your determination is not already formed,) and this decision may be as important to yourselves as to the rest of the world how far they are willing to be held responsible for what is being done in their midst and in their name, by those who call public meetings and utterance to what they call public opinion. We cannot blame our Southern brethren for the sentiments they feel on this subject, which to them is not merely a question of property, but a matter of life and death. If we consider the union worth preserving, and are anxious to preserve that constitution which is our pride and boast, then that some measures were taken to prevent the consequences of a rest from the misgivings and jealousies of our political enemies. We have read the appeal of the Anti-Slavery Society of Massachusetts, and can find nothing therein contained to alter the opinions which had previously formed of their principles and character, from a perusal of such publications as have fallen in our way. It becomes the people of this section of the country to determine what road to take, and what course to pursue. We do not advocate or encourage a repudiation of the Union. We do not excise or encourage them to do so. We do not interfere with the domestic relations of the South. We do not mean to violate the Constitution or its laws of the land. Third, To see what measures the corporation will take for the building and completion of said Bridge, within a time, together with toll house attached thereto; and to do and transact any other business that may be deemed expedient, not inconsistent with the provisions of said Act of incorporation and system of By-Laws adopted as aforesaid.

Fourth, Citizens, we do not use this language to excite your fear; far from it. This situation of our country, and the purposes and views of our opponents, might strike you with the danger hoped for by the latter, from discord and division among the Republican party. Of that you have heretofore composed an important part. Nothing, however, is more distant from our intention, than to offend, or to attempt to fasten blame upon any. We know that virtuous and enlightened men are often led away under the influence of the best feelings. Indeed, how often are many of those who spread delusion, themselves deluded. Our objects is to harmonize and conciliate, not inflame. We feel it to be our duty to make this appeal, and we do it in the kindest spirit. To warn you of the possible dangers to which you are about to expose your country; to exhort you to forget the past in this crisis and moment of danger, and unite in the cause you proless to have so much at heart; above all, to remind you of what you ought now to be sensible, that your alliance is looked to and courted with the utmost solicitude by your enemies, and with the hope of making our political divisions the foundation of their success; not, however, by electing your friends, but their own. What, then, are you to gain by such an union? Avoid it, if you would not look back with bitter anguish to the overthrow and ruin of a party, which exists upon the principles which first bound them together, (in spirit of difference of opinion, in matters concerning which good men may differ,) ought to be prevented. Ought such dangers to exist, and such a result be put within the reach of chance? We know that among the portion of our Republican friends who have thus estranged themselves from us, and are becoming aliens to our cause, some have done so through choice, and many through mistake. To those who have sinned against conviction, we have nothing to say. They must answer that to their country. But to those who have no wish to desert the Republican standard, but who feel the influence of other considerations, (which induce them to consult individual wishes, rather than the concert and harmony of the Party,) we would be anxious to inform them that the Constitution and the law do not come with a good grace from those who have interrupted peaceful meetings, destroyed buildings, broken open the Post Office, and in many instances taken human life, without the sanction of the law. Therefore, we are proceeding more decidedly than we do, no matter what the object or who the victims, but we think the guilt should be shared among those who gave cause for such proceedings.

THE STATE TREASURY. At the Democratic Convention recently held at Augusta they obtained the State Treasurer a brief statement of the present condition of the finances of the State. This being favorable, has of course excited the indignation of the federalists, and it is to be deplored that they deprived one of their best instruments for discrediting us. Those who have forgotten what doleful stories were told us of the bankruptcy of our State, that may be repeated again. We do not mean to say that the slaves are not good for us, but words encouraged to rebellion and to a war of masters, doctrines are pronounced among them that may easily lead to such consequences. If men are responsible for the natural and necessary consequences of their actions, then the abolitionists can hardly excuse themselves from the crimes that may be perpetrated by their deluded victims. If the Constitution secures the freedom of the press, the press itself abuses it. This freedom is not intended to protect libertines and scoundrels. The Constitution says that we are free, but it does not therefore give us the liberty of doing injury to those around us. The abolitionists think that charges of violating the constitution and the laws do not come with a good grace from those who have interrupted peaceful meetings, destroyed buildings, broken open the Post Office, and in many instances taken human life, without the sanction of the law. Therefore, we are proceeding more decidedly than we do, no matter what the object or who the victims, but we think the guilt should be shared among those who gave cause for such proceedings.

WESTERN ELECTIONS. The federalists are repeating that old stories of victory and reaction in the western States in this mode of electing men will hardly go down with a people here. It is worn threadbare. Their readers have been told that the election takes place in the same manner as that of the existing state of the Treasury and of the Land Office our enemies are to be allowed. STEPHEN EMERY, Judge.

Copy Attest—JOSIAH G. COLE, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the county of Oxford, on the twenty-fifth day of August, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-five.

JOHN H. COOLIDGE, Administrator of the estate of

JEREMY L. STEVENS, late of Canton, in said county,

deceased, having presented his first account of administration and of said deceased, and also his

second, and that those who have

been interested in the estate of said deceased,

should be allowed. STEPHEN EMERY, Judge.

Copy Attest—JOSIAH G. COLE, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the county of Oxford, on the twenty-fifth day of August, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-five.

JOHN H. COOLIDGE, Administrator of the estate of

JEREMY L. STEVENS, late of Turner, in said county,

deceased, having presented his first account of administration of the estate of said deceased,

and that those who have

been interested in the estate of said deceased,

should be allowed. STEPHEN EMERY, Judge.

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